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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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again at a certain point when the representative of another branch would follow on with his section of the genealogy, and so on, until all branches of the family had chanted their sections. It is my belief that the *tuhuna* must have chanted first the *pu'e* and then continued chanting alone the earlier part of the genealogy after the creation, repeating it every time until it came down to the point at which the particular sections of the different branches of the family branched off. After the recitation of the genealogies was finished, the meeting was adjourned and the feast followed. This rite was evidently simpler than some in which the same chants were recited, details of which are to be given below. It would appear to be in the nature of a family reunion. For just what purpose the reunion was celebrated I could not ascertain.

Another informant at Pua Ma'u remembered a few details of a *ko'ina pu'e* celebrated on the feast place in front of the house of the chiefess. The feast was attended by the people of Moea and other valleys, besides the Pua Ma'u people. Long poles were set up in front of the large house for men on the main platform of the feast place. Around the base of the poles were wound great strips of white bark cloth, one-half of each strip being left free and spread out on the platform. The chanting of the *pu'e* alone and apparently by men was done in this house. It does not appear that the *vavana* was chanted at this rite, the purpose of which is unknown.

One informant at Pua Ma'u said that the *ko'ina vavana* and *ko'ina mata* were the same except that in the former women were allowed to eat pig, the shares of provisions allotted being taken home by the guests, while in the latter only fish could be eaten by the women, all the food being consumed on the spot.

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When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught the sacred chants he employed a teacher for the purpose. A boy would be taught all the chants and the genealogies; but a girl only the *vavana* and the *mata* (genealogies) since the *pu'e, tona pou,* and others to be mentioned were *tapu,* restricted to men. The *tuhuna o'ono* (master of chanting) having been employed, he commenced his instruction. The work was begun in the common dwelling house. During instruction the boy or girl was under strict *tapu*. While the teaching was going on, work was begun on the house in which the *vavana* would be chanted at the time of the feast that was to follow. If it were a boy who was being taught, some of the instruction (that in the *tapu chants*) had to be given in a special house, and the *fa'e pu'e* (also called *tona pou*) was built for the purpose. This house was also used in the festival that followed. When the boy had learned the chants properly he made a round of the houses

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in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e, tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou, fa'e pou, fa'e pu'e, faia'u* or *feiahu, oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

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rite—for what purpose I could not ascertain—and the altar was called *ahu* (pile or mound).

The sacred stone block or blocks, called Tu-fatu and Hoa-fatu, consisted of a slab of hard, dark stone suitable for making adzes, which was brought to the *tona pou* for the occasion from the tribal sacred place (*me'ae*), where it was kept at other times. During the rite a chip was broken off with which to make an adz for a boy. These blocks are said to have been tribal possessions, each tribe having one or more. All adzes were made from them. Although the blocks themselves were sacred, adzes were not. Where the blocks came from no one knew. Tradition recounts that Motuhaiki, a legendary canoe builder and patron of canoe building, dug them out of a hole. At a certain point in the recitation of the *pu'e* the block (here called *to'i ke'etu*: *to'i*, adz and *ke'etu*, block) was carried into the house in which the women chanted and was put on an elevated place called the *pahupahu*.

The sacred rope which was put on the *tona pou* was the "rope with which Motuhaiki noosed the sun," and was supposed to have been made by Motuhaiki, the legendary master canoe builder and patron of carpentry, for the purpose of catching and stopping the sun in its course so that he could complete his work. There seems to be no connection between Motuhaiki and Maui, to whom most Polynesians attribute this exploit of stopping the sun. Where this rope was kept when not in use ceremonially is unknown. It may have been made for each occasion. If such were the case and it merely symbolized the rope of Motuhaiki instead of being the actual rope made by the canoe builder, it would in all probability be explained in exactly the same terms, for when a ritual object is prepared ceremonially the native does not say it represents the object but that it *is* the object.

The post that stood in front of the *tona pou* was called *fata* or *vpini* (a kind of wood). It was three or four inches thick and about ten feet high. On the morning of the rite a rope, made of seven strands of sennit cord plaited so that they lay flat, was hung on the post. On top was a horizontal stick with coconut leaves attached in some way. On the afternoon of the rite the fish (octopus) or taro root, and the stone covered with shells collected by the boy's father were tied to the post with the rope. The post was then called the *fata tou enata* (the post landing-place of men). It was thought to be the resting place during the rite for the spirits of deceased priests who came to assist. After this only the old men forming the chorus (*po'i tuhuna*) could eat in the sacred house. These deified spirits were thought to perch on the cross piece. The post was left standing for two weeks, after which time the ceremonial priest

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. "In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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X 533 773 hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

X 553 As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting [869] features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of [868] these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

X 533 769 832 The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.